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and the star spangled banner, to Mr. Stearns's intense disgust. The underlying reason was, as he sees it, that our leaders were not genuinely liberal, that the intellectual class became the hired attorney of nationalism.

Indeed, the author's contention is "that the peoples of the world were duped from beginning to end," and he believes that "It is difficult to see exactly what liberal purposes have been accomplished by the resort to arms" (p. 10). From that point of view, he seems to be dissatisfied with the war—with its avowed causes, its conduct and its consequences.

The new leadership, Mr. Stearns believes, will be less demagogic than the old, more disciplined and more intellectual. Personally he does not believe in "Bolshevism or Conservatism or Socialism or any other narrow and highly formulated economic, social or political creed." He will merely oppose violence, preach tolerance and keep out of the thick of the fight. He hopes for social revolution, but it must be brought about without a row, although he considers the prospect extremely doubtful.

In his opening pages Mr. Stearns declares that Liberalism must be or is "urbane, good-natured, non-partisan, detached," but it is unfortunate that he has not adhered to this principle throughout his volume. His plea for tolerance is marked by intolerance, for good-nature with ungenerosity in weighing the motives of others, for nonpartisanship and detachment with evident animus and one-sided advocacy rather than fairness and breadth of vision. Hence the value of the work as a critique of American Liberalism is very seriously impaired for the general reader and the serious student.

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Is America Worth Saving? Addresses on National Problems and Party Policies. By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons. Pp. 390.)

This volume is a collection of twenty-two addresses delivered between December, 1912, and November, 1919. Although written and delivered on diverse occasions and dealing with varied subjects they have as a common theme the "exposition and interpretation of the fundamental principles on which the American government and American society are built." According to this exposition the foundation stone

of our system is the possession of a written constitution—"the frame of the government"—which not only grants powers but also prescribes limits to the use of those powers, and which guarantees to each individual the rights of life, liberty, and the possession of property.

Again and again the advantages of what Lord Bryce called a "rigid constitution" are emphasized. Not merely its stability but its protection against chance majority is extolled. And yet President Butler is not averse to progress. He advocates an easier method of constitutional amendment. He proposed that amendments might be submitted by a majority vote of two successive congresses and ratified by a majority of the states, provided that majority contain a majority of the population (pp. 170-171).

In dealing with social, industrial and economic problems, and in his frequent condemnation of anything resembling socialism, President Butler applies the fundamental doctrine of the possession of rights beyond the power of the government. He holds that "the fundamental purpose of the state is to preserve order, to defend liberty, and to keep open the door of opportunity" (p. 86), but he more frequently stresses the liberty to acquire property than other rights of liberty. He most properly says "a strike by a public servant is a direct assault on the whole community" (p. 92), but gives little light on the problem of how to obtain service from an unwilling laborer; while he quite properly denounces the evils of strikes in our complex industrial system, and the dangers of a strike used for political purposes (pp. 86-89) he is less definite in his proposed remedies.

In dealing with the League of Nations, President Butler insists that it "should be a society of nations, and not a society without nations" (p. 201), and in 1918 he declared that such was in actual existence, composed of the Allies and the United States. He advocates calling into operation the international court of justice urged by the American delegation at the last Hague Conference, the establishment of a single code of international law and a division of the world into administrative areas—Europe, the Americas, and the Orient—each with a modified Monroe Doctrine (p. 147). But he is strongly opposed to any form of international interference with the problems which concern the United States.

It should be remembered that the book is a collection of occasional addresses and does not pretend to offer detailed solutions for all the problems it suggests. It is an interesting discussion of these problems from one who is strongly attached to the Republican party.

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